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ABSTRACT

To better understand the effects of the media on audiences, five media sociology theoretical approaches to the study of influences on media were investigated by looking at tests of the approaches in three journals over the last 10 years. The mirror approach predicted that the media would accurately represent reality, but, while accurate, the media were found to be unrepresentative. Four other theoretical perspectives--routines of newsgathering, the journalist-centered approach, social/institutional influence, and the hegemony approach--provided different explanations for the distortions that were found in mass media content. The findings suggest that the mirror approach be abandoned, and that the other four media sociology approaches be modified, with the hegemony approach (which suggests that journalists and media owners have a vested interest in seeing that the status quo continues) serving as a theoretical umbrella for the three more testable approaches. (Summaries of the studies used are included.) (Author/CRH)

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MASS MEDIA CONTENT AS A DEPENDENT VARIABLE: FIVE MEDIA SOCIOLOGY THEORIES

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ABSTRACT

Five media sociology theoretical approaches are investigated by looking at tests of the approaches in three journals over the last ten years. The mirror approach predicted that the media would accurately represent reality, but, while accurate, the media were found to be unrepresentative. Four other theoretical perspectives--routines of newsgathering, journalist-centered, social/institutional influence, and hegemony--provide different explanations for the distortions that occur in mass media content. The article addresses the relationships among the theoretical approaches and discusses how they might be revised.

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We will outline five theoretical approaches of how mass media content is shaped by a number of forces, under the assumption that our understanding of media effects on audiences will be incomplete without an equal understanding of how various influences affect media content. Gans[1] and Gitlin[2] have suggested five media sociology theoretical approaches: The mirror approach predicts that the mass media are mere channels for conveying an exact picture of reality to the audience. A routines of newsgathering approach places the causes of distortion in the ways in which journalists do their jobs. The journalist-centered approach locates the causes of distortion within the journalist, whereas the social/institutional influence approach looks at causes external to the journalist. Hegemony is a broad-scale theoretical approach which predicts that the ideology of the powerful is integrated into the common sense of the powerless.

Our purpose is to illuminate these theoretical approaches to the study of influences on media content and to review research studies relating to each approach. We will suggest a new theoretical context for media sociology studies, and at the same time we will critically survey the five approaches and suggest ways in which they may be eliminated or combined.

MEDIA SOCIOLOGY

Three decades after David Manning White suggested that journalists act as gatekeepers of messages[3] and Warren Breed studied the socialization of journalists,[4] communication researchers are still investigating ways in which journalists, their media employers, newsgathering routines, and society can affect media content. The term "media sociology" is increasingly applied to studies which look at why the content of the mass media is the way it is.

This is an increasingly popular area of research, with a wide variety of studies finding interesting results and offering a number of explanations for those results. Studies that actually test and name a specific theory are few and far between, possibly because of the rigorous space limitations imposed on many journal articles. Usually the authors present a brief description of what they expect to find and then test one or two hypotheses. Although Hage has said that a theory could be as limited as one hypothesis, normally we think of a theory as being a related set of statements and propositions, with concepts and linkages defined both theoretically and operationally.[5] Most media sociology studies lack such elaboration. The result of this plethora of barely theoretical studies has been a tendency to ignore the commonalities among the studies when different, but theoretically related variables are used and to avoid looking for broad-scale theories which might be more useful. Two researchers have proposed ways in which the wide variety of media sociology studies might be grouped. Gans[6] has proposed four theoretical approaches--mirror, routines of newsgathering, journalist-centered, and social and institutional influence--to which a fifth, hegemony, has been added by Gitlin.[7]

Whether these five approaches actually deserve the label "theory" is debatable; they certainly do not meet Hage's structured definition, and at present they are little more than ways of categorizing a body of research.

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[1] Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1979, pp 78-115.

[2] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, pp 249-282.

[3] David M. White, "The 'Gatekeeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News," *Journalism Quarterly*, 27 (Fall 1950): 383-390.

[4] Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces*, 33 (May 1955): 326-335.

[5] Jerald Hage, *Techniques and Problems of Theory Construction in Sociology*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972, p. 172.

[6] Gans, *op. cit.*

[7] Gitlin, *op. cit.*

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach[8] suggest that the term "pretheory" be applied to "interesting and seemingly plausible speculations that appear to be more or less consistent with out limited amount of media research but about which we are not really sure." DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach call for media theories which predict specific relationships among independent and dependent variables in a form which can be tested empirically. Although the five approaches suggested by Gans and Gitlin are not developed into full-fledged "systematic sets of propositions," they do present sets of independent variables for study, and the relative influence of each independent variable on a media content dependent variable can be empirically tested. While they are not full-fledged theories at this writing, at least four of the approaches have potential. Critical appraisals of the five approaches will probably result in the elimination of at last one approach and the combination of the others into one or two full-fledged theories. We present all five approaches in this paper both to bring them to the attention of media scholars and to provide a framework for the review of a seemingly disparate, yet ultimately related body of literature.

Mirror approach

A number of studies are designed to test whether media content is distorted. These studies typically are event-oriented, with media content compared to some external measure of reality to determine whether media content reflects reality accurately or with distortion. One of the earliest tests of this mirror approach was presented by Lang and Lang, comparing television coverage of the 1951 MacArthur Day parade in Chicago with the impressions of participant observers. People who saw the parade on television thought it was a more exciting event than did those who saw it in person.[9]

Gitlin says journalists are more likely than their sources to believe news reflects reality, as indicated by Walter Cronkite's traditional closing, "And that's the way it is." Although mirror theory has received much criticism from media analysts, says Gans, it is still useful to remember that journalists don't make up the news. They begin with "what they deem an empirically graspable external reality."[10]

A more recent and representative test of the mirror approach is Fedler and Jordan's comparison of the number and types of crimes investigated by police with those reported in newspaper stories. The authors found that only a handful of the number of felonies committed were reported by the newspaper, and that, of those, crimes against people were more likely to be reported than crimes against property. The authors explain the lack of support for the mirror approach as the result of influences dealt with in our next media sociology approach-- that journalists routinely emphasize crimes against people as a journalistic convention.[11]

Routines of newsgathering approach

Studies which use this theoretical approach look at how news organization habits and routines affect the kinds of stories that are written and published or broadcast. Examples of routines include:

- *Deadlines*, which make the journalist stop seeking information in order to file the story.
- *Available sources* are more likely to be institutional rather than not. This makes it difficult for individuals and special interest groups to get media access.
- *Event-orientation* of most media stories, especially in television, where good

[8] Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication*, fourth edition, New York: Longman, 1982, pp 194-196.

[9] Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Unique Perspective of Television and Its Effect: A Pilot Study," in Schramm and Roberts (eds.), *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

[10] Gans, *op. cit.*, p 79.

[11] Fred Fedler and Deane Jordan, "How Emphasis on People Affects Coverage of Crime," *Journalism Quarterly*, 59 (Autumn 1982): 474-478.

visuals are easier with events than with issues.

- *Inverted-pyramid* style of writing news stories, which conveys the journalist's assessment of importance to the reader.
- *Gatekeeping*, which covers the selection, shaping, and timing of stories.

Several researchers have studied newsgathering habits, including Gitlin,[12] Goldenberg,[13] Tuchman,[14] and Gans.[15]

Journalist-centered approach

Some researchers are interested in how variables intrinsic to the journalist may affect the stories he writes. Some studies, such as Breed's,[16] consider how a journalist is socialized to take on the role of a media professional. Journalists learn from observation and experience what is is newsworthy and how to avoid libel suits and criticism from peers by using what Tuchman calls the strategic rituals of objectivity.[17]

The journalist-centered theoretical approach looks at how forces within the journalist will affect the stories he writes. The journalist's socialization as a media professional gives him what Sigal calls "a context of shared values" with other journalists.[18] Paletz and Entman say journalists hold "a set of internalized norms that guide and structure the reporters' stories."[19]

Some other studies using the journalist-centered theoretical approach look at how journalists' personal biases may affect the news. Although they did not tie their findings directly to differences in media content, Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman found that some journalists consider themselves "neutrals," seeing their jobs as mere channels of transmission, and that others see themselves as "participants," believing that journalists need to sift through information in order to find and develop the story.[20] In a more recent study, Starck and Soloski found that journalism students who saw themselves as "neutrals" wrote the least objective and accurate stories. The more objective and accurate stories were written by students who saw themselves as "low participants," i.e., somewhere close to the middle of a bipolar continuum from high participant to high neutral.[21]

Research on journalists has become more popular since the Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman study. Two recent studies show that the interest in journalist-centered influences on the news is continuing, although neither ties journalist variables to content variables.[22]

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[12] Gitlin, *op. cit.*

[13] Edie Goldenberg, *Making the Papers: The Access of Resource-Poor Groups to the Metropolitan Press*, Lexington MA: Lexington Books, 1975.

[14] Gaye Tuchman, "Making News By Doing Work: Routinizing the Unexpected," *American Journal of Sociology*, 79 (1973): 110-131.

[15] Gans, *op. cit.*

[16] Breed, *op. cit.*

[17] Gaye Tuchman, "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (1977): 660-679.

[18] Leon V. Sigal, *Reporter and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking*, Lexington MA: D.C. Heath, 1973.

[19] David L. Paletz and Robert M. Entman, *Media, Power, Politics*, New York: Free Press, 1981.

[20] John W.C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski, and William W. Bowman, "The Professional Values of American Newsmen," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36 (1972): 522-540.

[21] Kenneth Starck and John Soloski, "Effect of Reporter Predisposition in Covering Controversial Story," *Journalism Quarterly*, 54 (Spring 1977): 120-125.

[22] The two studies are: (1) Judee K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon, and Charles K. Atkin, *The World of the Working Journalist*, Michigan State University, 1982; and (2) David H.

Social and institutional influence approach

As Gans outlines it, to understand the production of the news, you must first understand the power relationships involved between various institutions or social forces outside of the news organizations. The news is shaped by technological, economic, and cultural forces, as well as by the audience, advertisers, and news sources. News comes to journalists primarily from institutional sources who exert pressures of various kinds on journalists and the news process.[23]

In this theoretical approach, the forces that shape the news are said to be extrinsic to the journalist. Economic forces are especially important, and there have been a wide variety of studies looking at various economic influences, such as cross-ownership or monopolies. Other influences include the newspaper's function in its community, audience size and circulation, community and market size, the existence of guidelines from special interest groups such as the American Bar Association, amount of advertising, language and culture.

For example, Bell found that radio announcers varied their news style according to the prestige of their audience.[24] Wackman *et al.* found that chain-owned newspapers tended to be more homogeneous in their endorsements of political candidates.[25] Tankard and Peirce found that the amount of alcohol advertising in a magazine was related to its having a favorable editorial policy toward alcohol.[26]

Hegemony approach

Gitlin describes hegemony as the tendency of people in power to dominate everyone else. But instead of using coercion to get their way, the powerful lead and win the consent of the powerless. Gitlin says hegemony is the systematic engineering of the status quo. This theoretical approach suggests that journalists and media owners have a vested interest in seeing that the status quo continues. Although the media will criticize the status quo to a certain extent to establish their own legitimacy as news organizations, the media will never criticize the status quo enough to seriously threaten or change it.[27]

Although Gitlin says that there is no "full-blown" theory of hegemony, the idea derives from Antonio Gramsci's writings while in a Fascist prison during the 1920s and 1930s. Gramsci saw hegemony (according to Gitlin) as the "domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice.[28]

Gitlin describes hegemony as an extension of the social/institutional theoretical approach. Social forces (such as economic or cultural) may influence media content; a hegemonic explanation extends this line of thought to include reasons (generally ideological) for the economic or cultural forces acting as they do. While both theoretical approaches deal directly with the manipulation of power, hegemony attempts to explain *why* the power is so manipulated. Researchers who use the hegemony approach in their studies believe that ideology may be the "symbolic mechanism" through which the various parts of the society are integrated.[29] In other words,

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Weaver, Richard G. Gray, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *A Portrait of American Journalists*, Indiana University, 1983.

[23] Gans, *op. cit.*

[24] Allan Bell, "Radio: The Style of News Language," *Journal of Communication*, 32 (Winter 1982): 150-164.

[25] Daniel B. Wackman, Donald M. Gillmore, Cecilie Gaziano, and Everette E. Dennis, "Chain Newspaper Autonomy as Reflected in Presidential Campaign Endorsements," *Journalism Quarterly*, 52 (Autumn 1975): 411-420.

[26] James W. Tankard and Kate Peirce, "Alcohol Advertising and Magazine Editorial Content," *Journalism Quarterly*, 59 (Summer 1982): 302-305.

[27] Gitlin, *op. cit.*

[28] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York: International Publishers, 1971.

hegemonic ideology influences the economic, cultural, and technological forces which influence the media and their content.[30]

METHOD OF THIS STUDY

Having considered the five theoretical approaches outlined by Gans and Gitlin, we analyzed a part of the existing media sociology literature with these five approaches as a framework. We defined "media sociology study" as one which tests one or more hypothesis concerning how various influences on media content result in different kinds of content. In other words, we only included studies which test a hypothesis in which mass media content is the dependent variable and some noncontent variable influence is the independent variable.

We were interested in looking at whether studies could be classified using the five theoretical approaches. We thought that the approaches were not independent and discrete categories, but we were uncertain whether studies would exist for each theoretical approach and how simple a classification system would be. We also hoped that, in the process of looking at studies under each theoretical aproach, we would be able to eliminate one or more approach and perhaps combine others.

Our analysis was of media sociology studies published over a ten-year period, from 1974 through 1983, in three mass communication journals--*Journalism Quarterly, Journal of Communication,* and *Communication Research.* Although there were many excellent studies published before 1974 and there are also are many important studies published outside of these three journals, we believe that this nonrandom sample is both practical (in terms of the time required for research of this nature) and appropriate, given the goals of our study. We are less interested in arriving at absolute statements concerning the verifiability of the five theoretical approahces than we are in elaborating the kinds of issues each approach deals with.

We included every article that actually tested a hypothesis concerning the existence of or reasons for the distortion of media content. Therefore we excluded a number of studies that looked only at the influences or only at content. While many of these studies infer that the influences will affect content or that content was caused by something specific, we did not include the study in this project if there was not at least one variable which measured an influence on media content (or, in the case of tests of the mirror approach, an external measure of reality) *and* at least one variable which measured some attribute of media content.[31]

After identifying all of the relevant media sociology articles, we organized them according to which of the five approaches the article was testing, making no attempt to order the studies according to quality or credibility. Tables 1 through 5 list the article in this study by the theory being tested, along with a synopsis of

[29] Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology,* New York: Seabury Press, 1976, pp 230-231.

[30] Gitlin, *op. cit.*

[31] These sampling requirements sound easier to carry out than they actually were. Sometimes it was difficult to identify whether there were any relevant variables in a study, and sometimes a study seemed appropriate at first but later was excluded. For example, we saw some studies which presumably tested mirror theory by asking a source to judge whether a story written about him was accurate. We decided to exclude such studies from this project because the source's judgment (as the authors of these studies pointed out) was influenced by the nature of the story, by the source's previous contacts with journalists, and by other message-related variables. We did not believe that the source was an objective external measure for the test of the mirror approach, since his judgments could easily be affected by the media content. We decided that this kind of study was more closely related to audience studies of perceived accuracy rather than to media sociology, although it is probably a hybrid. This example points up some problems with a post hoc categorization of studies into theoretical approaches.

the relevant results.

RESULTS

We included 66 studies in our project, with about half of those falling into the social influence category. This suggests that mass communication researchers are very concerned about possible influences on the mass media that come from outside the media. This is not particularly surprising, given U.S. rhetoric of freedom of the press, because pressures from outside the media could endanger free expression. But such research emphasis on influences outside journalists and media organizations also could be a reaction to charges that journalists are biased. Perhaps researchers intend to show that distortions are caused by factors outside the media as well.

Support for the social influence approach was mixed, with more positive findings (statistically significant relationships between the non-content variables and media content) in studies looking at effects due to competition, special interest groups, advertisers, and audience members than to circulation, community variables, medium profit, and various social system variables.

Among the other theoretical approaches, the mirror approach was generally refuted; there was substantial support for the routines of newsgathering and hegemony approaches. Journalist-centered variables yielded mixed findings.

MIRROR APPROACH. We found two broad categories of "mirror" studies--those that looked at how accurate the media are, and those that looked at the representativeness of media content (see Table 1). Bowman found that few of the facts published about science topics were actually inaccurate, but that there were many omissions of relevant information. The number of omissions was directly related to article length. Scanlon et al. concluded that the general impression the media gave about crisis events was accurate, but that there were errors in reporting factual details, such as names, ages, and statistics.

Several researchers concluded that crimes are not being reported in the media in the same proportions that they occur in the real world. Crimes against people and violent crimes were most likely to get media coverage, as are violent deaths as compared to deaths by disease, probably because of journalists' conceptions of what is newsworthy.

Two studies found some support for the mirror approach. Atwater concluded that *Ebony* magazine's increased coverage of civil rights issues following the passage of the civil rights act reflected its audiences increased interest in civil rights. Renfro found that most letters to the editor were published, regardless of topic, although there was some tendency to publish more letters on education, law and order, and fewer on the economy, the media, and religion. Minority topics and letters from special interest groups were given access in proportion to the number of letters received.

ROUTINES OF NEWSGATHERING APPROACH. Eight of the studies looked at how the ways in which the news is gathered and transmitted may affect content (Table 2). Seven of the eight studies did find that various newsgathering routines do affect content.

One routine in many news organizations is receiving and using all or part of news releases. Sachsman found that many reporters and editors rely on press releases for information about the environment because they provide an easy source of information. Martin and Singletary found that nearly 20 percent of all press releases were used verbatim, and that nondaily newspapers were more likely to use a large number of press releases and to use them verbatim than dailies. Small circulation newspapers apparently are more likely to routinely rely on press releases for information about a subject.

Another source of information for the mass media is from the wire services. Whitney and Becker found that newspaper editors select stories in various categories for publication in the same proportion that the stories appear on the wires. Todd, however, found that the New York *Times* wire services advisories did not set the agenda for its subscribers. There was no

difference in the play given to stories by subscribers and nonsubscribers.

Routines in writing and categorizing stories can also affect content, according to two other studies. Lemert *et al.* found that mobilizing information was least likely to be in a story if that story was negative or controversial, nonlocal, in a main news section or on the editorial page. Lemert *et al.* speculated that mobilizing information was routinely kept out of these stories because the authors might be accused of partisanship. Likewise, Fowler and Smith found that journalists write different stories in different ways. Immediate reward stories (e.g., crime, disaster, sports, social events) were easier to read, having fewer syllables and shorter sentences than delayed reward stories (e.g., public affairs, economics, and social problems).

Two studies looked at how newsroom technology can affect content. Randall found that newspapers which used full electronic editing had fewer errors in spelling, punctuation, sentence construction, hyphenation and typography. Shipley and Gentry found that VDT editing was more accurate than hard copy editing.

JOURNALIST-CENTERED APPROACH. Studies testing the journalist-centered approach have found mixed support (Table 3). Several studies looked at whether different conceptions of newsworthiness would affect media content. Manheim found that rural editors were more likely than urban editors to see congressional elections in their districts as newsworthy regardless of timeliness. In a similar study by Rosenthal, editors who were geographically distant from Detroit were less likely than geographically close editors to publish stories about "local preparedness" for racial unrest. The more distant editors ran stories about problem-solving approaches to the riots, because, according to the author, the editors had different perceptions about what types of articles were most newsworthy.

Two other studies found no support for newsworthiness effects on content. Weaver and Wilhoit found no relationships between Senators' seniority, prestige, committee assignments and how visible that senator was in the newsmagazines. Luttbeg found that the proximity of the newspaper to the story site had no effect on that story's selection for publication.

We suspect that these mixed findings may be explained by the fact that none of them actually ask journalists to judge the newsworthiness of the people or events being considered. The authors assumed that newsworthiness varied among the independent variables measured, but this was not proven.

In other journalist-centered studies, the researchers looked for effects on content due to journalists' personal attitudes and attitudes and to the editorial policies and endorsements of the publisher/owner. In different studies, journalism students' attitudes toward the source were not related to how favorably the subsequent stories were to the source (Drew), and the New York *Times'* use of attributed report sentences was not affected by criticism by the *Wall Street Journal*. In addition, the source's agreement with the newsmagazine's viewpoint was not related to whether the source was quoted or not, and a newspaper's endorsement of a candidate had no effect on whether the newspapergave an election "horserace" or "substance" coverage.

Some studies did find effects due to journalists and their media managers. Windhauser *et al.* found that editors' personal management outlooks and styles can affect a newspaper's editorial focus and geographical emphasis. The longer a publisher is in his newspaper's community, the more likely he is to see himself as a community leader and the more local news and press releases he publishes (Stone and Mazza). Women publishers were found to give more favorable coverage to the equal rights amendment than men publishers (Farley). Starck and Soloski tested whether "participant" journalists would write different stories from "neutrals" and found that the neutrals wrote the least fair and accurate stories, while those who had a moderate amount of the participant outlook were the most fair and accurate. Rainville and McCormick found significant differences in the words used to describe white and black football players and concluded that the announcer's prejudice explained the

differences. In addition, Mann found that "hawk" newspapers used different crowd estimates in their stories about Vietnam demonstrations than "dove" papers did.

SOCIAL/INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCE. We found studies which looked at social influences due to various media ownership patterns, the presence or absence of competition, circulation/community and profitability variables, the audience and its subgroups, advertisers, culture, national economy and development, and the status quo (Table 4).

The largest group of studies looked at influences on media content due to media ownership differences, such as chain ownership, cross-ownership, and independent ownership. Chain or group ownership did influence media content in some instances, but not in others. Chain newspapers are more likely than nonchain papers to endorse candidates, and the chain endorsements tend to be homogeneous (Wackman, *et al.*). Television stations owned by a network are less likely to pre-empt controversial programs, and they show fewer major league sports programs than independent stations do. Network-owned stations may bar the entry of new nonnetwork shows (Litman). Group-owned television stations broadcast more news than nongroup stations (Wirth and Wollert). Chain-owned newspapers did publish fewer argumentative editorials, fewer editorials on local matters, and fewer editorials on controversial topics than independent papers, but there was no relationship between ownership and the amount of mobilizing information published (Thrift). Wagenberg and Soderlund found, however, that chain ownership did not result in any collusion by editorialists within the chain to stress any particular issue or promote any particular political party. In an analysis of prime-time programs, Austin also found no difference between the types of programs broadcast by network and independent television stations, although the independent stations largely broadcast reruns of network shows and movies.

A number of researchers were also interested in knowing whether cross-ownership of television stations and newspapers would affect media content. In general, they found that it did not, although if there was a difference between cross-owned media and noncross-owned media, then the cross-owned media usually did a better job of transmitting public affairs and nonentertainment information (Wollert; Wirth and Wollert). In addition, Burris and Williams found that network-owned newspapers gave equal coverage to all three networks' Sunday interview shows.

The presence or absence of competition was shown to affect media content in four studies. Long showed that the program diversity among television networks declined after the Dumont Network went out of business, leaving only three networks. Rothenbuhler and Dimmick got similar results in their study of concentration and diversity within the record industry. As the number of competing firms decreased, diversity also decreased. Monopoly ownership of newspapers was shown to increase the amount of duplication in content among only one of three tests by Hicks and Featherston. Weaver and Mullins' study of leading and trailing newspapers in competitive markets revealed that there was no difference in the amount of space devoted to categories excelt for news of the home. Leading newspapers were, however, more likely to use less vivid graphic devices than the trailing newspapers.

In a group of related studies, several researchers looked at whether circulation size, profit, and community variables would account for differences in media content. Stone and Morrison believe that lower circulation community newspapers are more likely than high circulation papers to stress local copy and legal advertising, because these newspapers' goal is to be the community's voice. In a study by Hynds, larger circulation newspapers were more likely to run exposes, stories on how corporations wield power, and stories on an individual company's performance. Circulation size was not related, however, to any changes in business coverage, such as increasing the number of pictures used or giving business news more space.

Profit influence on content was tested by two researchers. Prisuta found no relationship between various economic prosperity variables and the amount of news and public affairs

information broadcast, but Csaplar showed that cost was a factor in whether television stations broadcast a local or a local/syndication "hybrid" show like P.M. Magazine. Community size and growth, market growth, and retail sales did not predict newspaper performance in a study by Becker *et al.*, although Drechsel did find that there was less local court reporting in smaller communities. A national index of business stability was related to the frequency of newsmagazine items about population growth and family planning, presumably because people focus on birth control when their personal financial situation becomes unstable. The newsmagazines reflected this concern on the part of their audiences (Brown).

The effects that advertisers and audiences can have on media content was the subject of six studies. The amount of alcohol advertising in magazines was related to the magazine's favorable editorial treatment of alcoholic beverages (Tankard and Peirce). Kariel and Rosenvall showed that the audience's language will affect the quantity of news published about different countries. Although newspapers have access to the same news sources, they select news according to their readers' affinities. In a similar study, Bell found that radio newscasters changed their style of speech according to how prestigious they perceived the audience to be. Cantor and Jones showed that magazine content was directly related to that magazine's target audience. Several tests have been done on whether special interest groups can affect content. Albretton and Manheim found that a public relations campaign was able to affect the portrayal of Rhodesia in the U.S. press. Newspapers which serve different audiences (prestige versus mass) use different speech codes, according to Namenwirth and Bibbie. But Tankard *et al.* found that the existence of a press-bar agreement in a state did not affect newspaper content. American Bar Association guidelines were violated in states with and without the press-bar agreements.

The remaining social/institutional influence studies looked at the effects of various systems-level variables on media content. Cultural differences between rural and urban editors' work environment accounted for differences in the newspapers' women's section, according to Gross and Merritt. Rural editors were less likely than urban editors to publish articles about the changing role of women, although all editors published a majority of traditional- rather than change-oriented information. Gerbner and Marvanyi found that the amount of foreign news a country's media coverage is inversely related to the extent to which the media is commercially sponsored. The publicly owned press placed a greater emphasis on articles about the outside world than the commercial press did. Sparkes also found that economic variables were related to content in his study comparing U.S. and Canadian media coverage of the other country. The U.S. gets more coverage in Canadian media than Canada does in the U.S., and this difference is related directly to differences in the percentages of foreign trade accounted for by the other country and to GNP projections. There was no support for a hypothesis by Wilhoit and Weaver that a country's level of development is related to the number of wire service stories about those countries.

HEGEMONY APPROACH. The dividing line between social/institutional influence and hegemony studies is a fine one. We placed only three studies into the hegemony category, but we recognize that several of the social/institutional influence studies would not be terribly out of place in hegemony (Table 5).

The political climate or government policy was the independent variable in two studies. Chu and Chu found that twice as many letters to the editor were published in the *People's Daily* following the Cultural Revolution. The letters were more likely to deal with unresolved conflicts after the Cultural Revolution than during it. Letters, say the authors, are a legitimate channel for grassroots messages to leaders, exposing problems needing solutions. In a study by Becker, however, a change in U.S. policy toward Pakistan did not result in the U.S. media changing their positions in line with the government. Contrary to the hypothesis, the New York *Times* shifted its position against that taken by the government. Becker speculated that reporters and editors may have sensed that the government was pressuring them and reacted against the pressure.

A third study looked at how the newspaper's social role will affect its content. Beniger and Westney found that the Japanese newspaper *Asahi*, which sees its social/cultural role as educating and providing information, used more graphic communication to support its stories than did the New York *Times*, a newspaper of record.

DISCUSSION

A post hoc categorization of studies into theoretical approaches is difficult. But the primary purpose of our effort is to bring some theory to a research area that has had very little theory in the past. To that end, the accuracy of a post hoc categorization of studies is less important than the elucidation of theoretical approaches for the consideration of media sociology scholars.

We have shown that it is possible to test hypotheses using variables discussed in the five theoretical approaches, but we made no attempt to weight the studies for quality or credibility. This would be an impossible task and isn't after all necessary for this paper. Declaring one theoretical approach the empirical winner in a post hoc theoretical sweepstakes is absurd with a nonrandom sample of studies and a set of theoretical categories which are probably not mutually exclusive. Therefore we need to consider how these theoretical approaches might be combined or revised to become full-fledged mass communication theories.

The mirror approach stands alone with its conceptualization of media as impartial conveyors of reality and is the least credible of the five approaches. The remaining four approaches each predict different kinds of distortions for different reasons. Each addresses a different kind of influence on the news, but the four approaches may be described as illustrating increasingly broader approaches to the study of media content.

Routines of newsgathering, the narrowest of the four, deals with procedures for selecting and shaping the news. The journalist-centered approach adds consideration of personal influences such as bias and ambition to the study of how a journalist follows news procedures. Social influences may be factors in shaping the procedures used, for instance by a publisher's setting an early deadline to speed delivery and increase profit; in shaping a journalist's performance when a writer agrees to cover a political group because he perceives community support for the group; and in other ways, such as a newspaper's favorable coverage of a business or institution that advertises heavily in the paper. Hegemony, the broadest of the media sociology approaches, might be indicated in any case in which power appears to be a determinant. Government influence on reporting of news, for example, would be a hegemonic development, yet indicators of hegemony, such as directions about editorials, display of stories and expressions of journalists' personal opinions could fit within the other media sociology categories.

We could in fact consider these four theoretical approaches as a hierarchy in terms of the level of analysis studied, the approach's ability to explain effects predicted by the other approaches, and the social significance of distortion under each theoretical approach.

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS. In the routines of newsgathering approach, the level of analysis is the media task. We look at the way the job of newsgathering is done. In the journalist-centered approach, distortion is caused by individuals. In the social influence approach, the level of analysis becomes the system – either a definable group such as advertisers, audiences, or sources, or societal variables such as culture, the economy, or technology. Hegemony looks at influences of the status quo on societies and is therefore the more difficult theoretical approach to test empiricaly. In fact, the social influence approach is probably the testable version of hegemony, if we assume that the power struggles suggested by the social influence approach are theoretically linked to hegemonic influences.

EXPLAINING OTHER APPROACHES. The four approaches may form a theoretical hierarchy, from the routines of newsgathering approach at the media task level of analysis to hegemony at the social system level. Why is the news gathered and transmitted in ways

which result in distortion? Because media employers and employees make decisions about how the job should be done. Why do they make such decisions? Because of economic, cultural, and technological imperatives. Why are these imperatives effective in controlling the media? Because the media are part of the status quo and have been influenced by those in power to conform. Indicators of hegemony at work may include cultural, economic, and technological factors. Indicators of these factors may include the personal and policy decisions made by individual journalists. Indicators of decisions made by journalists may include the habits and routines that journalists follow in doing their jobs.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE. Taken as independent theoretical approaches and not as rungs on a theoretical hierarchy, the routines and journalist-centered approaches have relatively minor effects on the overall society. Most of the studies of the routines of news-gathering supported the notion that news is shaped by organizational habits. Yet the kinds of influences--use of press releases, accuracy of editing, choice of wire-service stories, story type, and editing-- probably are not factors that would systematically emphasize or exclude certain content to serve institutional imperatives. The journalist-centered approach appears somewhat broader in the effects of its acceptance, dealing with choices about emphasis, inclusiveness and ideology, but the potential effects of journalists' actions are limited becase they are value expressions by individuals rather than by institutions at large. Although effects in these two theoretical approaches have some impact on individuals (for example, editing errors causing incorrect publication of a name or address), the overall result for society probably would not be great.

As indicators of the broad-scale approaches of social influence and hegemony, however, the routines and journalist-centered approaches may signal more serious social impact. Support for hegemony and social influence would indicate broad and pervasive effects on the relationship of media to society. For example, two studies supporting the hegemony approach indicate that media content is shaped by the "use" of a medium by a government or society. The social influence approach, which was supported by half the studies we reviewed in that area and received partial support in several more studies, deals with potentially important topics such as the selection of programs for television, reduction of diversity in media through multiple ownership, and effects of perceived community character on newspaper content.

While hegemony may provide the best overall explanation of why there is distortion in media content, such a broad-scale socological theory is practically impossible to test. If our very common sense is affected by the powerful, then how can we objectively test the effects of such a pervasive process on our actions?

Of course, we may be able to tease out hegemonic effects by looking at lower-level indicators of the hegemonic process, and it is in the search for these indicators that the other three distortion-predicting media sociology approaches will be of benefit. We should recognize both the lack of independence among the four theoretical approaches and the differences among them in levels of analysis and testability that make them useful.

In short, while we think that the mirror approach should be abandoned, the other four media sociology approaches should be retained, although in modified form. We believe that hegemony can serve as a theoretical umbrella for the three more testable approaches. Researchers can select routines, journalist-centered, and social influence variables for study depending on which level of analysis is of the most interest.

Table 1. Studies which test mirror theory.

Study	Results
ACCURACY	
Susan Cray Borman, "Communication accuracy in magazine science reporting," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Summer 1978): 345-346.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Compared content of popular science magazines to original professional journal article on topic. There were only a few inaccuracies in headlines or text, but there were many important omissions. Number of omissions related to length of article.
T. Joseph Scanlon, Rudy Liuiko, Gerald Morton, "Media coverage of crises: Better than reported, worse than necessary," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Spring 1978): 68-72.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Compared media coverage of six crises events to reports from the Emergency Communications Research Unit at Carlton University. General impression conveyed about the events was accurate, but there were errors in factual details, such as names and numbers. All errors were unattributed.
REPRESENTATIVENESS	
George E. Antunes and Patricia A. Hurley, "The representation of criminal events in Houston's two daily newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Winter 1977): 756-760.	REFUTED. Compared number and types of crimes reported in newspapers to information from police and FBI. Violent crimes were more likely than other crimes to be reported.
Joseph R. Dominick, "Geographic bias in national TV news," Journal of Communication, 27 (Autumn 1977): 94-99	REFUTED. Compared the number of media reports about a region or state in network broadcasts to the populations of the states and regions. The Northeast and Pacific regions were overcovered compared to their population. The Midwest was undercovered.
Barbara Combs and Paul Slovic, "Newspaper coverage of causes of death," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Winter 1979): 837-843, 849.	REFUTED. Compared statistics on causes of deaths to whether the media reported the cause of death in a story. Deaths due to violence were much more likely to be reported than deaths due to disease.

Study	Results
Paula Cozort Renfro, "Bias in selection of letters to the editor," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Winter 1979): 822-826.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Compared proportions of categories of letters to the editor received with those published. Minority topics and special interest groups were given equal access. Newspaper published more letters dealing with education and law/order than expected, and fewer on economy, media, and religion. Most letters were published.
David K. Perry, "Foreign industrial disputes in Time and Newsweek, 1966-1973," Journalism Quarterly, 58 (Autumn 1981): 439-443.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Compared the magnitude of a nation's industrial dispute problem with the amount of coverage of strikes and lockouts in Time and Newsweek. Coverage increases with the magnitude of the problem to a point and then decreases.
Tony Atwater, "Editorial policy of Ebony before and after the civil rights act of 1964," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Spring 1982): 87-91.	SUPPORTED. Compared coverage in Ebony of civil rights before and after passage of civil rights act. Concluded that increased coverage of civil rights after passage was the result of the editors reflecting their audience's growing interest in the topic.
Linda Ammons, John Dimmick, and Joseph J. Pilotta, "Crime news reporting in a black weekly," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Summer 1982): 310-313.	REFUTED. Compared number of crimes reported in newspaper with police reports. Crimes of persons are reported more than crimes of property.
Fred Fedler and Deane Jordan, "How emphasis on people affects coverage of crime," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Autumn 1982): 474-478.	REFUTED. Compared number and types of crimes reported in newspaper to number and types of crimes investigated by police. Only 15 of 1,741 felonies were reported in newspaper. Reported crimes against people more often than crimes against property. There was no evidence that race was more likely to be reported when blacks were suspects. Race was most likely when blacks were victims.

Table 2. Studies which test routines of newsgathering theory.

Study	Results
PRESS RELEASES/PUBLIC RELATIONS	
David B. Sachsman, "Public relations influence on coverage of environment in San Francisco area," Journalism Quarterly, 53 (Spring 1976): 54-60.	SUPPORTED. Compared number of press releases received by reporters with number used. Many reporters and editors relied on public relations for information about the environment because it's an easy way to get information.
William P. Martin and Michael W. Singletary, "Newspaper treatment of state government releases," Journalism Quarterly, 58 (Spring 1981): 93-96.	SUPPORTED. To what extent are news releases reproduced verbatim in newspaper articles? 19.5% of all news releases were used verbatim. Nondailies used more releases and were more likely to use them verbatim than did dailies. Negative news releases were more likely to be used verbatim.
EQUIPMENT/TECHNOLOGY	
Starr D. Randall, "Effect of electronic editing on error rate of newspaper," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Spring 1979): 161-165.	SUPPORTED. Does the use of electronic editing/typesetting equipment affect newspaper error rate? For all categories of errors (spelling, punctuation, etc.), the error rate increased as the newspaper changed from hard copy editing to electronic typesetting only, but the error rate then declined as the newspaper moved on into full electronic typesetting and editing.
Linda J. Shipley and James K. Gentry, "How electronic editing equipment affects editing performance," Journalism Quarterly, 58 (Autumn 1981): 371-374, 387.	SUPPORTED. Is VDT editing more accurate than pencil editing? Typical wire stories were editing more accurately on the VDT.
WIRE SERVICES	
D. Charles Whitney and Lee B. Becker, "'Keeping the gates' for gatekeepers: The effects of wire news," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Spring 1982): 60-65.	SUPPORTED. Compared wire service editor's assignment of items to news categories with other editors' assignment. Proportion was an excellent predictor of story selection.

Study	Results
Rusty Todd, "New York Times advisories and national/international news selection," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Winter 1983): 705-708, 676.	REFUTED. Compared subscribers' and nonsubscribers' ranking of stories with the ranking in the Times advisories. There was no wholesale agenda-setting by the Times advisories. No significant difference between subscribers and nonsubscribers.
STORY TYPE/WRITING STYLE	
James B. Lemert, Barry N. Mitzman, Michael A. Seither, Roxana H. Cook, and Regina Hackett, "Journalists and mobilizing information," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Winter 1977): 721-726.	SUPPORTED. Compared use of mobiling information in various type of stories and positions within the newspaper. Mobilizing information was least likely in negative or controversial stories, nonlocal stories, and in main news sections and on editorial pages.
Gilbert Len Fowler Jr., and Edward J. Smith, "Readability of delayed and immediate reward content in Time and Newsweek," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Autumn 1982): 431-434, 460.	SUPPORTED. Compared story type with readability. Immediate reward stories (e.g., crime, disaster, sports) were easier to read than delayed reward stories (e.g., public affairs, economics). Immediate reward stories had fewer syllables per 100 words and shorter sentences.

Table 3. Studies which test journalist-centered theory.

Study	Results
NEWSWORTHINESS	
Jarol B. Manheim, "Urbanization and differential press coverage of the congressional campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 51 (Winter 1974): 649-53, 669	SUPPORTED. Compared the quantity and quality of newspaper coverage of comgressional campaigns with the degree of urbanization of the congressional district. Wrice as much newspaper coverage was devoted to congressional campaigns in rural areas than in urban areas. Rural editors saw the campaign as more newsworthy because of its proximity regardless of timeliness.
David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, "News magazine visibility of senators," Journalism Quarterly, 51 (Spring 1974): 67-72.	REFUTED. The visibility of senators in news magazines was not related to any of the following: seniority, prestige of committee assignments, population of state, conservativeness, % of total vote received in last election, how competitive the state party system is, or how secure the senator's membership is in the senate's inner club.
Marilyn M. Rosenthal, "Riot news: The press, the spread of opinion and demogeographic self-interest," Communication Research, 5 (April 1978): 176-201.	SUPPORTED. Looked at newspapers' coverage of Detroit riots. The "problem-solving" approach prevailed in newspapers from wealthy communities which were farther from Detroit. "Preparedness" stories prevailed in closer, poorer communities.
Norman R. Luttbeg, "Proximity does not assure newsworthiness," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Winter 1983): 731-732.	REFUTED. Compared the location of the story to whether it was chosen by a newspaper for publication. There was no bias for stories closer to home.
EDITORIAL POLICIES, ENDORSEMENTS	
G. Cleveland Wilhoit and Taik Sup Auh, "Newspaper endorsement and coverage of public opinion," Journalism Quarterly, 51 (Winter 1974): 654-658.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Compared how favorably coverage of public opinion polls was in papers which endorsed/opposed candidates and papers which were noncommitted. Papers with no competition treated their endorsed candidate more favorably, whereas papers with competition treated endorsed candidates no differently than opposed candidates. Noncommitted papers treated the two candidates mor differently

Study	Results
Leon Mann. "Counting the crowd: Effects of editorial policy on estimates." Journalism Quarterly. 51 (Summer 1974): 251-257. 296.	SUPPORTED. In coverage of Vietnam demonstrations, crowd estimates varied significantly between "hawk" and "dove" newspapers. The difference was mainly in the choice of sources to report.
Gerald C. Stone and Patrick Mazza, "Impact of consensus theory on community newspaper organization." Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Summer 1977): 313-319, 356.	SUPPORTED. The longer the newspaper publisher resided in the community, the more likely he was to see himself as one of the community's top five leaders and the more likely he was to publish press releases and local news. The leader-publisher was less likely to publish editorials and letters.
Jennie Farley, "Women's magazines and the equal rights amendment: friend or foe?" Journal of Communication, 28 (Winter 1978): 187-192.	SUPPORTED. Women publishers and newer magazines were more likely to give favorable coverage to ERA. "Home" magazines gave the best coverage; "brides" magazines gave the worst.
Keith Sinclair, "'Horserace' vs. 'Substance' in coverage of election by British prestige press," Journanism Quarterly, 59 (Winter 1982): 598-602.	REFUTED. The newspaper's political endorsement had no effect on the degree of horserace/substance coverage. Most coverage was substance rather than horserace.
John W. Windhauser, Will Norton Jr., and Sonny Rhodes, "Editorial patterns of Tribune under three editors," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Autumn 1983): 524-528.	SUPPORTED. There were statistically significant variations in content patterns under three editors, regardless of the preceding editor's policies. Different editors had different outlooks and styles.
Fred Fedler, Ron Smith, and Mike Maeske, "Time and Newsweek favor John F. Kennedy, criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Autumn 1983): 489-496.	REFUTED. There was no relationship between similarity of the sources' views to the magazine's views and whether the source was quoted in the magazine.

Study	Results
JOURNALISTS' ATTITUDES AND ATTRIBUTES	
Dar G. Drew, "Reporters' attitudes, expected meetings with source and journalistic objectivity," Journalism Quarterly, 52 (Summer 1975): 219-224, 271.	REFUTED. Journalism students' attitudes toward the source were not related to how favorably their stories were about the source.
Kenneth Starck and John Soloski, "Effect of reporter predisposition in covering controversial story," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Spring 1977): 120-125.	SUPPORTED. Reporters who have a participant bias did more than just present the facts: The included analysis. Neutral reporters produced the least fair, accurate, objective comprehensive, and interesting stories. Low participants produced the most fair, accurate, etc., stories.
Raymond E. Rainville and Edward McCormick, "Extent of covert racial prejudice in pro football announcers' speech," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Spring 1977): 20-26.	SUPPORTED. Announcers' descriptions of black football players differed from those of white players. Whites got more praise and were more likely to be described as the executor of aggression. Blacks were more likely to be referred to negatively and to be unfavorably compared to others.
John M. Shipman, "New York Times's coverage of the war in El Salvador," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Winter 1983): 719-722.	REFUTED. There was no change in the number of inference sentences or attributed report sentences published in the New York Times following criticism by the Wall Street Journal.

Table 1. Studies which test social/institutional influence theory.

Study	Results
MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND COMPETITION	
Ronald H. Wagenberg and Walter C Soderlund, "The influence of chain-ownership on editorial comment in Canada," Journalism Quarterly, 52 (Spring 1975): 93-98.	REFUTED. Chain ownership did not result in any collusion by editorialists within the chain to stress any particular issue or promote any particular political party.
David H. Weaver and L.E. Mullins, "Content and format characteristics of competing daily newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 52 (Summer 1975): 257-264.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. In a competitive market, the leading newspaper was no different from the trailing newspaper in the amount of space devoted to content categories except for news of the home. Trailing newspapers used larger photographs and fewer stories in their graphic format.
Daniel B. Wackman, Donald M. Gillmor, Cecilie Gaziano, and Everette E. Dennis, "Chain newspaper autonomy as reflected in presidential campaign endorsements," Journalism Quarterly, 52 (Autumn 1975): 411-420.	SUPPORTED. Non-chain newspapers were less likely than chain papers to endorse any candidate. Substantial numbers of chains were homogeneous in their endorsements.
Michael O. Wirth and James A. Wollert, "Public interest program performance of multimedia-owned TV stations," Journalism Quarterly, 53 (Summer 1976): 223-230.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Newspaper ownership of a TV station had no effect on content in large markets, although in small markets these stations broadcast more public affairs information. Group-owned stations presented more news than non-group stations.
Ralph R. Thrift Jr., "How chain ownership affects editorial vigor of newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Summer 1977): 327-331.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Chain-owned newspapers published fewer argumentative editorials, and fewer editorials on controversial topics. But there was no relationship of ownership to the amount of mobilizing information published.
Barry R. Litman, "Is network ownership in the public interest?" Journal of Communication, 28 (Spring 1978): 51-60.	SUPPORTED. Non-network stations pre-empt more controversial programs and show more major league sports. Network stations may bar the entry of new non-network shows.

Study	Results
James A. Wollert, "Programming evidence relative to the issues of the NCCB decision," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Summer 1978): 319-324.	REFUTED. Cross-owned TV stations broadcast as much or more than the national average in every public affairs and nonentertainment category, while noncross-owned stations in the same markets generally fall below that average.
Ronald G. Hicks and James S. Featherston, "Duplication of newspaper content in contrasting ownership cities," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Autumn 1978): 549-553.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. In one out of three tests the authors performed, there was more duplication in content between morning and evening newspapers owned by the same publisher than between independent morning and evening papers.
Stewart L. Long, "A fourth television network and diversity: Some historical evidence," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Summer 1979): 341-345.	SUPPORTED. Network program diversity declined when the DuMont Network went out of business. The networks are motivated by the need to maximize audience share.
Larry L. Burris and Jeanne P. Williams, "Use of network news material by cross-owned newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Autumn 1979): 567-571.	REFUTED. Network-owned newspapers gave approximately equal coverage to news from the networks' Sunday interview shows regardless of which network the story originated from.
Eric W. Rothenbuhler and John W. Dimmick, "Popular music: Concentration and diversity in the industry 1974-1980," Journal of Communication, 32 (Winter 1982): 143-149.	SUPPORTED. The fewer the number of competing record firms, the fewer the number of hit records by the fewer producers.
Bruce A. Austin, "Prime-time TV programming following introduction of independent broadcaster," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Winter 1982): 627-632, 637.	REFUTED. There was no difference between independent stations and network-owned stations in the categories of programs they broadcast in prime time. Independent stations ran mostly re-reruns of network shows and movies.

Study	Results
CIRCULATION SIZE/PROFITABILITY/COMMUNITY	
Gerald C. Stone and Janet Morrison, "Content as a key to the purpose of community newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 53 (Autumn 1976): 494-498.	SUPPORTED. Lower circulation community newspapers stress grass-roots copy and legal advertising because their newspaper's goal is to be the community's voice.
Robert H. Prisuta, "Broadcast economics and public interest programming," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Winter 1977): 782-785.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. There were no relationships between station commercialization, market size, or investment ratio and the amount of news and public affairs information, local programs, and public service announcements broadcast, except that larger markets do provide more public service announcements.
Lee B. Becker, Randy Beam, and John Russial, "Correlates of daily newspaper preformance in New England," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Spring 1978): 100-108.	REFUTED. There was no relationship between community size, growth, retail sales, family income, or competition and newspaper performance.
Richard M. Brown, "The gatekeeper reassessed: A return to Lewin," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Autumn 1979): 595-601, 679.	SUPPORTED. A national index of business stability was positively related to how frequently population control/family planning articles were published. The birth rate was related to article frequency two years later.
Robert Trechsel, Kermit Nattleberg, and Bisi Aborisade, "Community size and newspaper reporting of local courts," Journalism Quarterly, 57 (Spring 1980): 71-78.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Although there was less local court reporting in smaller communities, there was no difference in the emphasis on social disruption.
Ernest C. Hynds, "Business coverage is getting better," Journalism Quarterly, 57 (Summer 1980): 297-304, 368.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. Larger newspapers were more likely to run exposes, stories on how corporations wield power, and stories on an individual company's performance. Circulation size was not related to changes in coverage, such as increasing the number of pictures used or giving business news more space.

Study	Results
Nancy R. Csaplar, "Local television: The limits of prime-time access." Journal of Communication. 33 (Spring 1983): 124-131.	SUPPORTED. The cost and profitability of a program did influence some stations to switch to broadcasting a "local" show like P.M. Magazine.
AUDIENCES AND ADVERTISERS	
J. Zvi Namenwirth and Richard Bibbie, "Speech codes in the press," Journal of Communication, 25 (Spring 1975): 50-63.	SUPPORTED. Mass audience newspapers use a restricted code (predictable), while prestige audience newspapers use an elaborated (complex) speech code.
James W. Tankard, Jr., Kent Middleton, J. Tony Rimmer, "Compliance with American Bar Association fair trial-free press guidelines," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Autumn 1979): 464-468.	REFUTED. There was no relationship between violation of ABA guidelines and whether the state had a press-bar agreement. There were violations of the guidelines in both kinds of states.
Allan Bell, "Radio: The style of news language," Journal of Communication," Journal of Communication, 32 (Winter 1982): 150-164.	SUPPORTED. Broadcasters' news style covaried with the broadcasters' perception of audience prestige. Newscasters' individual styles were superseded by influences from the audience.
James W. Tandard, Jr., and Kate Peirce, "Alcohol advertising and magazine editorial content," Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Summer 1982): 302-305.	SUPPORTED. Alcohol advertising was related to the magazine having a favorable editorial policy toward alcoholic beverages.
Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Cultural affinity displayed in Canadian daily newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Autumn 1983); 431-436.	SUPPORTED. The audience's language was related to the quantity of news published about different countries.
Muriel G. Cantor and Elizabeth Jones, "Creating fiction for women," Communication Research, 10 (January 1983): 111-137.	SUPPORTED. A magazine with a working class target audience published different fiction than a magazine with a middle class audience.

Study	Results
Robert B. Albritton and Jarol B. Manheim, "News of Rhodesia: The impact of a public relations campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 60 (Winter 1983): 622-628.	SUPPORTED. The portrayal of Rhodesia in the U.S. press was less negative after the public relations campaign.
CULTURE AND NATIONAL ECONOMY	
George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, "The many worlds of the world's press," Journal of Communication, 27 (Winter 1977): 52-66	SUPPORTED. There is an inverse relationship between commercial sponsorship of media and foreign news coverage. The publicly owned or institutionally managed press assigns higher priority to the outside world than the commercial press does.
Verone M. Sparkes, "The flow of news Between Canada and the United States," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Summer 1978): 260-268.	SUPPORTED. The coverage of the U.S. and Canada in each other's press is related to the percentage of foreign trade accounted for by the other country and to the country's GNP.
Harriet Engel Gross and Sharyne Mirritt, "Effect of social/organizational context on gatekeeping in lifestyle pages," Journalism Quarterly, 58 (Autumn 1981): 420-427.	PARTIAL SUPPORT. There is less change-oriented coverage of women in rural newspapers than in urban newspapers, but most coverage in all newspapers is traditional. The cultural context in which the editor works affects choice of stories.
G. Cleveland Wilhoit and David Weaver, "Foreign news coverage in two U.S. wire services: An update," Journal of Communication, 33 (Spring 1983): 132-148.	REFUTED. There was no significant difference between the number of stories about northern and southern African nations, even though they have different levels of development.

Table 5. Studies which test hegemony theory.

Study	Results
Lee B. Becker, "Foreign policy and press performance," Journalism Quarterly, 54 (Summer 1977): 364-368.	REFUTED. Looked at whether a shift in a government's policies toward another country would affect the media's coverage of that country. Contrary to the hypothesis, the New York Times shifted its position against the position taken by Washington.
James R. Benigir and D. Eleanor Westney, "Japanese and US media: Graphics as a reflection of newspapers' social role," Journal of Communication, 31 (Spring 1981): 14-27.	SUPPORTED. The more important the information-providing function in a newspaper's social role, the greater the graphical support for stories in the newspaper. The Japanese newspaper Asahi has an information and education role, whereas the New York Times is a newspaper of record. Asahi uses more graphics than the Times
Godwin C. Chu and Leonard L. Chu, "Parties in conflict: Letters to the editor of the People's Daily," Journal of Communication, 31 (Autumn 1981): 74-91.	SUPPORTED. There were twice as many letters published in the post-Gang of Four period than during the Cultural Revolution. There were also more letters dealing with unresolved conflicts and fewer letters referring to national or socialist revolutionary goals.